



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

must be a normal item in the cost of production — a first charge upon the employer's budget, to be shifted upon the consumer as a part of the just price.

In regard to the question of the provision of old-age pensions, or a national system of sick insurance for the benefit of the laboring classes, it can possibly be alleged, with considerable show of reason, that conditions in the United States are so different from what they are in Europe, that the action of the latter furnishes but an indifferent guide as to what should be done here. The same, however, cannot be claimed in the case of accidents to labor. . . . Step by step we have seen almost all the European nations abandon the position that employees have no claim for damages except when they can prove negligence on the part of their employers, in favor of the one where their compensation by the employers should be compulsory in all cases except where they are wilfully and seriously at fault. . . . It would be difficult to think of another field of social or legal reform in which the United States is so far behind other nations.

EDWARD CUMMINGS.

Democracy and Social Growth in America. Four Lectures. By BERNARD MOSES, PH.D., Professor in the University of California. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898. 12mo. pp. 129.

UNDER the title of *Democracy and Social Growth in America*, Professor Moses has brought together four critical and speculative essays, in which he has treated American democracy as the outgrowth of social and economic conditions peculiar to America; of conditions which were universal during the earlier formative periods of colonization and settlement, which have tended, in the normal development of society, to pass away, until they now obtain in those localities only which have retained their primitive simplicity—to quote the author's own phraseology, in those localities only “where the wave of westward migration breaks on the shore of barbarism” and in “isolated rural parishes.”

The author finds the fundamental tendency of social growth—fostered by that strongest of social instincts in America, the instinct of progress—to be progress from a state of society characterized by simplicity and equality in the distribution of material wealth among those constituting the society, to a society more and more complex, characterized by greater and greater inequality.

This tendency, inherent in the development of society, although it is a normal and natural tendency, is nevertheless antagonistic to the

endurance of pure democracy, which, in the author's opinion, has already encountered in America overmastering economic forces.

These forces manifest themselves chiefly in the accumulation of wealth, the formation of corporations and trusts, and in the growth of great cities. The author would make it appear that democracy in America is a creation rather of circumstances than of human ingenuity, that it is not the ultimate order, but like other conventions, is subject to the law of social evolution. "Under the forces of normal development," he reiterates, "society grows away from the democratic ideal," and "towards a condition akin to that contemplated in the socialistic ideal."

A democratic form of government retained in a community where there is great inequality of wealth and attainments, indicates, in the author's opinion, class rule, and as such inequality is bound in the natural course of development to increase, some other government than a pure democracy becomes inevitable. This change in the form of government is further necessitated by the growth of powerful corporate bodies within the community, which burden the government with new and undemocratic responsibilities—"the power of the government must be magnified and asserted till all corporations and trusts shall yield obedience to both the letter and spirit of the law." Such an amplification of the government would require a delegation of power, and a maintenance of discipline altogether inconsistent with the naïve ideals of democracy entertained by the founders of the republic.

In the rush of our population from the country into the cities, the author sees the disproportionate growth of just those communities which are the most undemocratic within the commonwealth—communities which manifest the greatest inequalities of wealth and differentiation of classes.

The author's startling conclusion that democracy is a transitory form of government, becoming impossible under economic and social conditions in the United States, is, of course, contained in his premise that democracy is dependent upon simple equality. This conception of democracy is not consistent with that of our forefathers, who conceived democracy to be a form of government insuring to every individual within its domain, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The protection of the individual in the exercise of his capacities, here the avowed object of a democratic government, is consistent with the greatest inequality of property and attainments ; indeed

the declared object of such a government appears to be the fostering of inequality. In the pursuit of happiness not all succeed equally, and the inequality is no greater, although, perhaps, more obviously manifest, when that pursuit takes the form of wealth seeking.

With regard to socialism, our author's reasoning may appear more open to criticism, especially where he treats the socialization of industry as a socialistic tendency, realizing more or less completely the ideal of socialists. This movement appears to him inevitable, since it takes place in response to those economic forces which have already necessitated the introduction of machinery, the differentiation of employments, and the formation of corporations and trusts. Accepting the author's conception of socialism as a purely materialistic philosophy, it does not even then follow that these forces are essentially socialistic. This becomes obvious, when we consider any of the great industries where these forces have been most active. In the United States it is quite conceivable that the railways within the country should come under the management of four or five great corporations, and still remain independent of the government, except in so far as the government might find it necessary to interfere for the protection of individual and other corporate rights. Most of the European governments and many state governments have built and managed railways, but except where other than economic considerations made it advantageous for the government to hold the roads—as in the case of Germany, where the roads are held for military purposes—these governments, almost without exception, have found it to their advantage to turn the roads over to private management and ownership. And it should be further borne in mind that in the socialization of industry itself there is no promise that the corporations may not manage the government rather than the government the corporations; in other words, these tendencies may be tendencies towards plutocracy. Under such a government industry might be perfectly "socialized," though the form of government would not be socialistic, as the term is commonly understood.

Many economists will take exception to the author's assertion in the essay on "Conflict and Socialism," that there is "at present no method but that of conflict by which the gross product may be properly distributed among the agents co-operating in production," inasmuch as the acceptance of this premise seems to involve a denial of all economic laws governing the distribution of wealth, and carried to its ultimate conclusion, makes impossible the science of economics itself.

In the essay on "Education and Democracy," the author weaves a curious bit of philosophy around the popular notion that a "little knowledge is a dangerous thing." "However much," he writes, "modern society has to fear from malicious intention and crass ignorance, it has a far more threatening source of danger in that widely diffused half-knowledge which marks this age of expanding democracy." This is certainly reading a new meaning into an old proverb. The idea is a conventional one and uncritically accepted. Why a little knowledge is dangerous it is hard to see. The half-educated classes are notoriously conservative; the dangerous elements in society are the ignorant who follow designing demagogues blindly. The half-educated man of today is better instructed, and wiser in many ways, than the scholar of the last century. If our secondary education breeds an "unblushing," "bold," "self-confident half-knowledge," the trouble would seem to lie, not in the moiety of knowledge, but in the manner of imparting it.

The final essay, on the "Democratic Spirit," draws some analogies between the Roman Empire and the American Republic, and elaborates the idea that our "strongest social instinct—the instinct of progress" has "brought upon us the doom of onward change," and made the preservation of the democracy of our forefathers impossible. Some forces tending toward the dissolution of a democratic community are here enumerated—the spirit of war, the "chaos of individualism which manifests itself in the assertion of rights," and in the want "of a sense of social duty." Religion is mentioned as a necessary conservative force.

The four essays are discursive and suggestive, and sometimes the reader experiences a little disappointment that the form of a popular lecture does not permit a more exhaustive treatment.

JOHN CUMMINGS.

New York State Library Bulletin: Legislation, No. 9; *Legislation by States in 1897*. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1898. 8vo. pp. 487-735.

THIS publication, which comes to hand regularly at the beginning of each year, impresses me as being, for the student of the social sciences, the most valuable report issued by any of our state governments. The first number appeared in 1891 and contained a sum-